

# PEACE NEWS

No. 86

London: February 5, 1938

2d.

## Scientist Replies to Government's A.R.P. Drive



*Sunshine and shadow in Holland.* (Sent by a reader).

Our recent picture of a peaceful scene in the Lake District has led a reader to send this photograph, taken by his son when visiting Holland for the Scouts' Jamboree last year.

## GOVERNMENT CIRCLES WANT CONSCRIPTION

### Dangerous Spread of Fascist Methods

MORE definite signs of an inspired campaign for conscription—forecast in PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago—are now apparent.

Behind this campaign are very influential people, some probably within the Government. Their demand was voiced openly in the main leading article in *The Times* on Saturday.

This professed admiration for some aspects of fascist methods of training youth in Germany and Italy, and concern for the fitness of British unemployed youth. A further idea of the character of the scheme proposed was given in these words:—

The essence of any practicable scheme would be to introduce an element of compulsion into the plans now being formulated for voluntary physical education.

Although the ideal held out by *The Times* was "that of a nation in work rather than a nation in arms," there are some who want full-blooded military conscription. Mr. Boothby, M.P., spoke for them when he said last week:—

I would like to see every young man in Britain given a period of training by the State between the ages of seventeen and nineteen . . . training in the use of arms would necessarily form part of the course. It is significant that Mr. Boothby's speech provided *The Times* with its excuse for a leading article on the subject.

### OPPOSITION TO SCHEME

Strong opposition to the scheme may be expected, and already a demand has been made for a renewal in Parliament of the last Government's pledge not to introduce conscription—but with a more specific reference to "back-door" methods by which it may come.

Doubtless MPs will receive shoals of letters of protest. The following letter from a correspondent in Scot-

land is evidence of the growing opposition:—

Obviously the Government is not going to enforce conscription on us without preparing us gradually, for public opinion is too strong against it; so they must disguise it under another name—that of compulsory physical training. . . . We should be careful in examining it to consider the possibility of its being a preparation either for the introduction of conscription or to make us fitter as soldiers in the event of another war.

### FASCISM COMES LIKE THIS . . .

Meanwhile the use of fascist-like methods in preparation for war grows more general every day.

The latest example has been the hint of intimidation against a doctor who gave no answer to a circular asking what service he would undertake in the event of a national emergency.

With rising unemployment the danger of a complete form of fascism increases, so it is not surprising to find that in propaganda, too, the Government is following the dictators. The War Office, for instance, in 1930-31 had two people engaged on publicity work, at a cost of £700 a year; now there are eleven, at an annual cost of £8,600. And already Ministers are suggesting it is something like treason to dare to criticize the Government.

## Four More Pacifist Conventions

THE Parliamentary Pacifist group is arranging to hold pacifist conventions in the following towns:—

**Glasgow**, March 12;  
**Sheffield**, April 23;  
**Southampton**, May 7, and  
**Norwich**, May 14.

George Lansbury will speak at each.

## MILITARY PURPOSE BEHIND CIVIL MOBILIZATION

By Dr. J. D. Bernal

THE passage of the Air Raid Precautions Bill and the activities of the Home Office in the last few months have shown that the Government intends to mobilize a great part of the civil population for the ostensible purpose of protection against air raids.

In this it is following examples already in practice in other countries, particularly in Germany. The development of air raid "precautions" schemes in all parts of the country raises very serious problems which pacifists have to answer.

Firstly these schemes are intended by the Government for a military and strategic purpose, which itself is complex.

As Sir Samuel Hoare explained in the House of Commons, air raid "precautions" may be considered as ground organization for aerial attack, the object being to prevent panic and, even more so, grumbling by the civil population, and to give the offensive air arm the fullest possibility for action without being hampered by having to detach a substantial part to defend towns at home.

Besides this, however, it is necessary to protect vital services, that is, the production of war materials. But as under present conditions almost every kind of production can and will be turned to war uses, this effectively means protecting industry and agriculture as a whole.

### POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Up till now only the first of these considerations has operated, and the Government has not even seriously considered the business of protecting the civil population as such against destruction from the air.

Besides these military factors there are political considerations which are almost more important, those of making the population air-defence conscious; of instilling the idea of the inevitability of air raids, and of the necessity of the "National" Govern-

ment as the only means of providing protection against them.

It is this political aspect that accounts for the popular and local government control of air raid "precautions," because more is expected from voluntary collaboration than could be achieved at the moment by any form of conscription. The threat of conscription, however, lies in the background, as articles and leaders in *The Times* well show.

### USELESS SCHEMES

The main danger in future air attack lies from high explosive bombs. Against this the Government's chief plan is dispersion, and only under pressure has it agreed to the provision of a certain number of shelters and for the possibility of evacuation.

Dispersal simply means no protection, except the hope that the bomb will drop on somebody else's home. If it was really desired to provide protection it would be necessary to have bomb-proof or semi-bomb-proof shelters for the population which has not been evacuated, as has already been done in Germany and to a considerable extent in France.

The Government's objection to such a policy is largely financial. No expenditure of the order that would trench on offensive armaments can be considered.

The present estimated cost for air raid precautions is £32,000,000. An adequate shelter system alone would cost £500,000,000, which would be nearly a third of the rearmament estimates.

Against fire the proposed protection is manifestly insufficient. Even with auxiliary fire engines, most working-class quarters would probably be burnt out in any serious raid.

The gas protection of the Government is the one to which they attach the greatest publicity value, but as gas is estimated to be the least effective of the methods of destruction which can be used this is not reassuring.

The gas-proof room may or may not be effective. The Cambridge Scientists group have published de-

(Continued on page 2, column 1)

(Continued from page 1, column 4.)

tailed experiments over their own names which show that gas can enter such rooms. The Government refuses to give the names or to publish the report of the scientists whom they claim have satisfactorily tested their gas-proof rooms. In any case, the objections remain that such a room is impracticable for the poorer sections of the population and would probably be untenable in an air raid combining incendiary and high explosive bombs with gas.

The second line of defence against gas, the mask, is probably moderately effective against asphyxiating gases. The Government has offered, however, no proof that it is safe against arsenical smokes and, in any case, it can give no protection against skin-blistering and poisoning gases.

One of the weakest parts of the scheme as a whole is the altogether inadequate provision for decontamination and casualties. **Under the proposed system the position of London would be far worse than that of Barcelona in the recent horrible raids.**

#### DANGER TO LIBERTY

Taken altogether the air raid protection schemes are ineffective and unfair, and dangerous to the liberties of peaceful activities of the population.

What can pacifists do in the face of the ever intensifying drive to enforce air raid "precautions" and to line up a great proportion of the population behind the Government's armament plan?

It is certain that every device of propaganda will be used to push forward the Government's schemes. If pacifists simply isolate themselves from the schemes, this propaganda will find no effective answer, and the pacifist will be cut off from the possibility of influencing those most exposed to Government propaganda.

Some pacifists, on the other hand, have maintained that it is advisable to enter into the schemes and collaborate with air raid "precautions" as a purely defensive measure, realizing their responsibility, at any rate for the non-violent defence of the civil population. It should be realized that such collaboration will be difficult unless those who collaborate are able to understand the nature of air raid "precautions" sufficiently well to see that they are not simply made use of as parts of a general military machine.

#### CANNOT BE IGNORED

Whatever the solution, pacifists cannot afford to ignore air raid "precautions."

**They will present for many months to come the most vivid way of bringing the dangers of war and the need for a real peace policy home to the people of this country, but in order that this should be possible it will be necessary to be able to criticize the precautions in detail.**

We need to have, in every area in which schemes have been put forward, a body of people who have taken the trouble to study these schemes in detail and to see how far they may be claimed to offer any serious protection to the inhabitants of the area; how unfairly they press on the poor; and how much they endanger civil liberties and the rights of individual conscience.

To do this effectively requires organization and initiative, and for lack of this the peace movement may find itself, before many months are out, faced with a *fait accompli* of a government that is not only able to command material resources of war and a trained army, but the support of a vast civil militia which has learned to accept its attitude in an unquestioning spirit.

Last week WILFRED WELLOCK revealed how fear of communism helped to shape governments' foreign policies; this week he shows how

## Fear of Fascism leads Labour Astray

THE hundredth meeting of the League Council has brought into public discussion the whole issue of the League's future. From the Right have come demands to let the League sleep on; from liberal and labour circles demands to cure the League of its sleeping sickness by vigorous action against "aggressors."

The latter attitude may be summed up in the words of a Labour statement:

"The League is weak today because some great Powers have been disloyal and others have not had the courage to put the League principles into operation." Therefore "apply economic sanctions (against Japan) in the proper spirit and not with the weakness and hesitation associated with the betrayal of Abyssinia."

"Japan can be stopped," declared the *Daily Herald*; "cut off her exports." The *News Chronicle* is equally clamant.

So far from such a policy reviving the League, I am convinced it would end its existence in a second world war.

NOW in all this discussion there has not been one word

### A.R.P. DRILL PROTEST RESULT

A Reading Peace Pledge Union member was recently told that he "was paid for it" when he refused to take part in air raid "precautions" drill. A letter was sent to the press about this and has drawn a statement from the A.R.P. Organizing Assistant that such drill is purely voluntary.

Before long Reading members hope to have a pacifist warden for each district, not to conduct air raid "precautions," but to keep his or her district informed of pacifist activities and beliefs.

A Young People's Group was formed last week at a meeting of the local PPU group. The purpose of the new group, which will meet fortnightly, will be to study pacifism. They are starting with a study of Aldous Huxley's *What Are You Going to Do About It?*

A meeting to which representatives of the groups in this district are invited will be held at the Peace Centre, 2 Church Street, on February 8 at 8 p.m.

The business will be to appoint a district secretary and consider means of spreading the pacifist cause in the district.

### Who's Who in This Issue

**D. J. D. BERNAL:** FRS; lately Assistant Director of Research in Crystallography and Stereo-Chemistry, Cambridge; now Professor at Birkbeck College; chairman, Cambridge Scientists' Anti-War Group....page one.

**C. B. Freeman:** 22 years old; graduated at Oxford last year; at present studying for London University Diploma in Librarianship....page six.

about the injustice which lies at the centre of international relations today, or its removal, not a single word for the boycott or ending of British and other imperialism—which, by the way, is causative, since Japanese, Italian, and German aggression are the inevitable outcome of the imperialist systems already in being.

Yet, strange to say, the programmes of the Liberal and Labour Parties contain constructive proposals which conform in large measure to the policy of the Peace Pledge Union. Then why do we hear nothing about them when plans of action are presented? **Clearly the time to apply justice is when the lack of it is causing so much havoc.**

What is the reason? It is fear—the fear of fascism.

Thus while behind the complacent attitude of the Government toward Japan lies the fear of communism, behind the bellicose attitude of the Opposition lies the fear of fascism. Both sides present a blind eye to the causes of the trouble, and thus to the real cure.

THE defence of the Opposition appears to be this: "The more you concede to bullies the more they will demand; therefore concede nothing."

It therefore amounts to this:

*We first make the position of the have-not Powers impossible by unjust peace treaties and placing rings around our empires, thus driving them to fascism and imperialism, then call them bullies and deny them justice, and finally meet their aggression with economic sanctions and war, to which end we must needs pile up armaments beyond all knowledge.*

Here is the evidence. James Walker, M.P., who replied for the Labour Party Executive to the pacifist debate at the Bournemouth Conference, last October, stated a case which required that labour

**1. Must yield nothing to the fascist Powers:** "I cannot understand the philosophy of Lansbury, who goes for afternoon tea and discussion with Mussolini and with Hitler";

**2. Must defend the empire:** "Where does there exist more democracy than in the British Empire?";

**3. Must support rearmament,** since the failure of financial and economic sanctions will "lead to military action."

Similarly Lord Trent, speaking at the annual meeting of the Midland Area Federation of the Liberal Party, in Birmingham, on January 22, said, "We cannot frighten dictators by passing resolutions. We cannot stave off aggression with perorations," and thereafter made an attack upon liberal pacifists.

These references sum up liberal and labour policy today, and clearly show that fear is behind it, and has driven from it all thought of constructive peace action.

A few days ago a deputation of labour leaders, stricken with the fear

of fascism, interviewed the Prime Minister of a government stricken with the fear of communism, to urge the necessity for applying economic sanctions against Japan. The zeal and faith of the former but increased the fear of the latter; so Labour came empty away.

**SANCTIONISTS** are widely proclaiming that an economic boycott would quickly bring Japan to her knees.

"No-one is suggesting that war should be made upon Japan," said Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons (December 21). But James Walker, A. V. Alexander, M.P., and Mr. Marchbank, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, and others have warned us to the contrary.

The last-named is quoted by *Forward* as having favoured a British-American naval demonstration against Japan in Far Eastern waters. Moreover, Labour's most recent official statement demands guarantees of mutual "military" as well as financial and economic assistance among the "peaceful Powers."

Now does anyone really believe that an economic boycott would subdue Japan? I am convinced that it would create that degree of fear and hatred which would enable Japan to cast off all restraint and bring out her most deadly weapons in order to bring the war in China to a speedy end.

I am equally convinced that it would not, as is suggested, encourage the Japanese worker to revolt against his government, but rather drive him into its arms, for what would strike him most would be the defence of the powerful British Empire, with all its domination and monopoly rights, by British labour, which would in effect be saying to the Japanese nation:

You may not follow in our footsteps; please be peaceful while we continue to eat our empire plums, the fruit of past conquest. Tell us why you are discontented, and we will see that your grievances are considered.

The fact that no imperialist Power has ever done more than "talk" about such grievances would but serve to strengthen their resistance.

**BESIDES**, let it not be imagined that Japan would stand alone. So long as imperialism remains the chief objective of the big Powers, so long will they be divided into haves and have-nots, League of no League; so long also will the have-nots stand together against the haves, notwithstanding that the latter, desiring to hold what they have, will audaciously call themselves the League of peaceful Powers.

Also, be it noted, the have-not Powers are Fascist, and are in a perilous economic condition. Unless something be done to improve their lot they will soon be compelled to choose between revolution and war, between communism and imperialism.

When the crisis comes I think they will choose war rather than revolution.

If the above diagnosis be correct the question of political action arises. Political allegiance becomes for the PPU a matter of supreme and urgent importance.

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India

★ CONGRESS MUST  
REMAIN  
NON-VIOLENT

WITH what voice can we raise a protest against Italian conquest of Abyssinia or Japanese ruthless aggression in China if we cannot condemn the bombing of villages on the North-West Frontier or speak out against imperialistic designs wheresoever they be?

This was the challenge of the president, Shrimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, in her address to the All-India Women's Conference.

She made a striking appeal to the more fortunate women of India to identify themselves more effectively with the poor women, and, in the following words, called on all women to take part in the struggle for freedom:

How can we deplore the civil war in Spain if we may not condemn those who stir up communal strife in our own country? How can we ask to be freed from the shackles of slavery ourselves when we do not lend a helping hand to our nation in its struggle for freedom?

Policy for the Whole  
Frontier

From the North-West Frontier comes proof that an act of friendship can overcome long-standing enmity.

The Kakari clan of the Bahlozai Mahsuds has for long been a thorn in the side of British frontier forces. A short while ago some Bahlozai Mahsuds were buried by a landslide while building a road in the Shaktu Valley.

News of the accident reached a British officer and a company of Scouts, who immediately went to the scene and managed to rescue two of the men.

A tribal meeting of the Kakari clan was held to talk over this act of mercy, and by unanimous vote it was decided that the former sniping and other hostilities against the rescuers should cease.

Can we be blind to the emaciation through the ravages of hunger and disease of our millions and not declare openly that the root cause of these ills must go?

Can we be refused money for all nation-building activities and not protest against the inordinate expenditure on the military budget? Can we see imperialism rampant in the world today and dragging one nation after another into war, and not refuse absolutely to be dragged into war for imperialist purposes ourselves?

Lastly, can we see our own country suffering on every hand from lack of freedom, and not refuse a type of federal constitution imposed on us against our own will and consent, which can only bind our fetters tighter?

## U.S.A.

## PEACE SERVICE ENLARGED

Ray Newton, for two years director of the Emergency Peace Campaign in the U.S.A., has returned to the American Friends Service Committee staff as secretary of its Peace Section. An enlarged programme of work on behalf of peace, especially in colleges, will be carried on under his guidance.

Greatly enlarged in strength, this section is now equipped to develop ten Institutes of International Relations, and to conduct an all-the-year-round programme of peace education among college students.

AFTER a careful review of the situation in the various Indian provinces in which Congress ministries are in office, and of the difficulties inherent in the present position, the Congress Working Committee (the executive body) has recorded its approval of the work of the ministries.

In order to further progress in this direction and to strengthen the organization in the struggle for home rule the committee declared that

it is necessary to adhere to the Congress policy of non-violence and to discourage all incitements to violence.

Congress members were asked to help to create an atmosphere of peaceful disciplined action in the country and to warn any erring Congressman against any tendency which militates against our policy of non-violence.

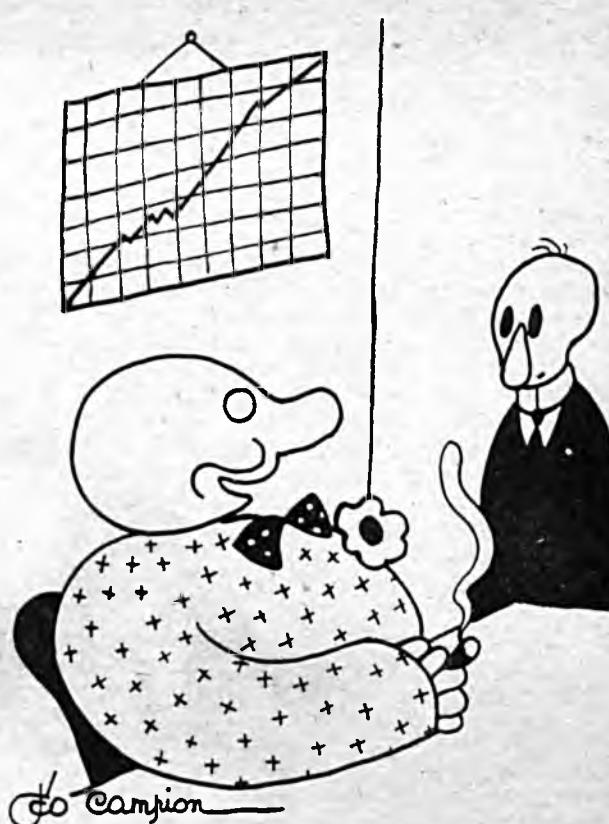
The principle of civil liberty and the democratic approach by means of persuasion rather than by coercive action were to be the guides of Congress ministries, although,

in spite of every desire to avoid it, coercive action may become necessary, and in such cases ministries will inevitably have to undertake it. Such coercive action should only be undertaken where there has been violence or incitement to violence or communal strife.

FUNERAL  
DIRECTOR: It's  
not so bad. The  
dead, one after the  
other, bring me in  
300 francs per head.

MUNITIONS  
MERCHANT: My  
friend, you work too  
cheap!

Drawn by the Belgian  
artist, Leo Campion.  
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## YOUTH ACTIVE IN MANY LANDS

"FLASHES" (as the newsreels call them) of the world-wide youth activity for peace:—

The national committees in Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia are preparing the conference of Central European Youth which will be held in Prague from February 25 to 27, at the invitation of the Czechoslovakian committee of the World Youth Congress Movement.

Vassar College, New York State, U.S.A., will house the second World Youth Congress from August 18-23. Delegates will be accommodated in the college buildings, which hold from 500 to 600 people. A special corps of Vassar girls speaking two or more languages will act as guides.

Seven hundred Cubans arrived in Havana to attend the Cuban Youth Congress to find that the Congress had been banned by the Government. They mobilized the help of youth all over the United States in a great press and radio campaign. After a week the ban was rescinded, but by that time most of the delegates had gone home. Now the youth of Cuba is preparing a large delegation to the World Youth Congress in the U.S.A. mentioned above.

Children's Peace Sunday  
Proposal

Attempts are now being made to put into effect the programme adopted at the last Convention of the World's Sunday School Association, when it resolved to inaugurate and maintain such programmes of teaching and worship as would lead to interracial understanding, international concord, and the abolition of war.

Various suggestions have been made for a Children's Peace Sunday, to be used for the exchange of messages between different lands.

It is believed by the Committee on Peace Education that an awakened realization of the community of spirit and ideals among Christians is the most effective contribution which Sunday schools can make in the cause of international and interracial peace, justice, and brotherhood.—*No frontier News Service*.

## Germany

## "HOUSE FOR FOREIGNERS"

With the object of promoting better relations among the youth of many nations, a large Hitler-Youth "House for Foreigners" is to be opened at Gatow, near Berlin, next summer.

## REWARD!!

The St. Pancras Building Society offers a reward of FOUR PER-CENT P.A. FREE OF INCOME TAX to all Persons capable of finding £10 or upwards for investment in the Society. The capital never depreciates, and can be withdrawn in full on short notice.

Send postcard for prospectus to  
E. W. Bales, Managing Director.

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING  
SOCIETY

27 FETTER LANE  
LONDON, E.C. 4



## Headquarters' Notes

By MAX PLOWMAN

THAT men of good intent should understand one another is supremely necessary today. It is essential, for example, that we as Pacifists should understand Communism in the form that has been widely accepted in this country, just as it is equally necessary that we should understand that other form of religio-political faith now being adapted to our acceptance in this country on the plea of necessity: National-Socialism, or Fascism.

The basic difference between Pacifism and Communism, as I see it, is that Pacifism is concerned to establish certain principles as fundamental, while Communism denies the existence or validity of any such principles and acknowledges one and one only ruling guide for conduct: wise expediency. To make the difference clear in a phrase: Communism says that the interest of all is the interest of one, while Pacifism says that the interest of one is the interest of all: the Communist takes the idea of the whole for his standard and the Pacifist takes for his standard the individual man. The Pacifist claims for himself and for all men equally a personal and immediate sense of right and wrong: the Communist regards any such claim as a sign of primitive individualism. He regards conscience as nothing more than the registration of individual judgment to which religious sanction has been given by tradition. He regards it as the elevation of personal choice to the level of individual law. He regards himself as belonging to a more advanced type of human being than any that lays claim to conscience, because he believes it to be his duty to be an arbiter on behalf of society as a whole, and that to be concerned about personal reactions is to be primitive and atavistic. He regards conscience as something to be supplanted by social awareness.

Communism is thus seen to be conscientiously unprincipled, or—to express the same thing more sympathetically—a philosophy which makes expediency its first principle. Its reference is to general good; and for this general good it has no criterion. It cannot say, for example, that all war is wrong, because it has no criterion for judging war as such. It can only say that war for certain objects is wrong in certain circumstances; and in this of course it is in agreement with the orthodox Church, only with far more justification. It is entirely dependent upon the flux of human passions and ideas and has no criterion of value by which it can determine right from wrong. It is, in a word, immoral, and that most reasonably and justifiably.

Fascism on the other hand is highly principled, only its principles are purely local and ready-made. Its religion is the religion of self-assertion raised to the nth: that is, the elevation of the particular clan, State, or corporate body to the rank of a chosen people ordained by Fate to the dignity of a ruling class. It is the reply of the dictatorship of a ruling class to the claim of the dictatorship by the proletariat. As flatly as Communism it denies conscience to the individual, but—like the Catholic Church—confers it upon its totalitarian representative, who becomes the nation's conscience, able, and most ready, to grant absolution from the dictates of individual conscience to all its members.

Thus we see that the struggle of Pacifism is the old fight for freedom of individual conscience transferred to

## The Notice Board

Collecting boxes for use in raising funds for the PPU must be obtained only through group leaders, who can get them from 96 Regent Street, W.1. Volunteers are required for poster parades every Saturday. Meet at the P.P.U. offices, 96 Regent Street, at 6.45 p.m.

### REFUSED TO REJECT PEACE PLEDGE

A MOTION to the effect that those present "declined to pledge themselves never to support or sanction another war" was defeated by a three to one majority at a debate held last week by Wimbledon and Raynes Park PPU groups and members of the League of Nations Union and St. George's (Wimbledon) Congregational Guild.

### International Party

The Shrewsbury Peace Fellowship—a branch of the PPU and the Fellowship of Reconciliation—recently entertained seventeen visitors from foreign lands at an international party. These visitors were from Austria, France, Germany, Hungary, and Switzerland.

The programme included items by the visitors—Austrian and Hungarian dances and French and German songs.

### More Listening Groups

Bradford and Dursley PPU groups are among those which have formed listening groups in connexion with the BBC talks on *The Way of Peace*.

The Rev. J. W. A. Singleton (the "broadcasting parson") is the leader of the listening group at Bradford, while in Dursley the PPU is cooperating with the League of Nations Union.

### A Member writes on—

#### A GROUP FOR PACIFIST TEACHERS

IT has been decided to form a Teachers' Group within the Peace Pledge Union so that all pacifists in the profession may have the opportunity to discuss their problems and formulate a policy.

I should be glad, therefore, if any teacher who is not a member of any organized group of the PPU would write to me as soon as possible. Group members, it should be noted, are being circularized via their groups' leaders and should hand their names to them.

A. BERNARD HADLEY.

40 Oak Hill Gardens,  
Woodford Green, Essex.

the modern world. "Conscience," said Blake, "is unequivocal in those that have it: it is the voice of God." Communism regards the sound of any such voice as a kind of blasphemy against the religion of pure expediency, and is thus "anti-God" by conviction.

Fascism, on the other hand, hears the voice of God whenever its dictator deigns to speak.

Personally, I think that Communists are scientists of the pre-Einstein period. They believe that the definition of a living thing is an equivalent of the thing itself; or that knowledge and experience are one and the same thing. But a man may know as much about love, for example, as Freud, and yet be as ignorant of love as Jacques. And I am confident that if a man surrenders his conscience to his idea of community, or to his Führer, it doesn't much matter whether he calls himself Communist or Fascist—he has foresworn the element in himself which alone can keep society human. And for want of that element society must and will inevitably grow more and more barbarous. You can see it happening.

## UNDER THE OAK TREE

By DOROTHY PLOWMAN

(Hon. Sec. for the Basque Fund)

NOBODY in the whole PPU can have had more heart-warming work in the past eight months than the Hon. Sec. of the Basque Committee. For one of her chief duties has been to act as liaison officer between the House at Langham and those foster-parents and friends whose devoted efforts (and often sheer personal sacrifice) established and—up till now—have robustly maintained that community of over seventy persons. But now her work is not quite so happy, because many of the letters she has received lately have been in the following strain: "I am sorry this is less than usual, but contributions have not been coming in so well. . . ." "I am afraid our support has become rather irregular. . . ." "I deeply regret having to tell you that now the six months are over we shall have to cease payment. . . ." "I shall be obliged if you can tell me when our child is returning as our guarantee expires on the —inst. . . ." During the week in which this last letter was received the newspapers announced the adoption of air raid reprisals in Spain and the "worst raid of the war" on Barcelona. And on January 26 the *Manchester Guardian* reported that the Castellon Child Refugee Home had been destroyed, 25 of the children being killed and many more maimed.

Everybody!—foster-parents, group leaders, women throughout the PPU, all who since May last have undergone voluntary self-denial to help the refugee children, as well as those who have not yet taken any share in this work of practical peace-making—what is our answer to that?

There are over 3,000 Spanish children still safe from those bombs in England. But for how long? The pressure exercised by certain political and religious bodies to have these children sent back must be experienced to be believed. The latter especially are emphatic that they should never have been brought, and that there is no money with which to keep them now that they are here.

Is this true? Are we—the richest nation in Europe—really preparing to send several thousand children back to risk imminent and horrible death because we can't afford them hospitality any longer? I simply don't believe it. But even supposing it's true: shall we dare to let it remain true? Surely if anything could help fill up the treasury of the National Joint Committee and that of our own PPU Basque Fund—so rapidly and so successfully depleted by the propaganda of the Basque children's return—it is this hideous news of air raid reprisals in Spain.

Having rescued these boys and girls once, and given them—(my pencil won't go on. I can only think of all the things we haven't been able to give them: somebody who cares, however naughty you are; the familiar places; the not-feeling-strange or lonely or sad—all the big and all the little things of home . . .)—But apart from these irreplaceable lacks, at least we have provided them with eight months' security of a sort; their elemental needs of food, warmth, shelter have been met. And now, when the danger to life all over Spain is greater than ever before, is this the moment to say "Yes, go on, send them back," and to feel we've done all we need do for other people's children?

*The Times*, in one of those famous A.R.P. leaders last week, had the audacity—the hopeful audacity—to invoke "the energy and enthusiasm

## GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

CONSCRIPTION is a word equally unpopular with pacifist and anti-pacifist alike. It would be difficult to find an audience in the British Isles which would allow a speaker, without interruption, to say that they were advocates of conscription. Yet at this very moment almost every newspaper is advocating without criticism Air Raid Precautions. Government papers and Opposition journals alike welcome the visit of Geoffrey Lloyd to Berlin to examine and copy fascist methods of defence, and join in congratulating the authorities in getting the public so drilled as to obey without question the order "man gas-masks!" The whole daily press accepts the conscription of public opinion without a murmur. Labour leaders vie with each other to be the first to congratulate the National Government on its achievements in rearming, and only hint that were they in power we should be even more heavily armed. What of the poor humble citizen himself, surrounded on all sides as he is by those wishing to arm him to the teeth? Here is the ray of hope in an otherwise fearful picture. The freedom-loving Englishman is not as yet losing either his sense of humour or his sense of proportion. He refuses to believe in the efficacy of the "sand, shovel and bucket"; he finds the inflated pillow-case unsuitable as protection for his babies, and the gas-mask itself but a poor means of protecting his wife from mustard gas, which may be sprayed on her arms and legs. In other words, he is inclined to believe that a certain air-warden let the cat out of the bag when he admitted that the greatest value of A.R.P. was to have the public so disciplined that they would die quietly without panic.

If it is true to say that the bomber will always get through, then the only way to prevent loss is by the abolition of the bomber itself. Black-outs and other forms of mass exercise are aimed at engendering a war mentality, and the Peace Pledge Union will serve both the cause of pacifism and the cause of freedom itself by protesting against the hypocrisy and sham of all such manoeuvres, while at the same time consistently advocating the method of non-cooperation with war in all its forms.

All groups should therefore:

1. Continue their distribution of A.R.P. leaflets (including two new ones just out).

2. Attend every A.R.P. meeting as citizens to ask questions;

3. Hold meetings of members to discuss ways and means to arouse the public to a sense of its danger from this subtle form of conscription;

4. Concentrate on making contact with women's organizations, as their cooperation can save the situation.

A black-out has recently been made the focus of great pacifist activity at Leicester, whilst Halifax has brought itself into the local press for picketing an A.R.P. meeting, with excellent results.

Volunteers will be wanted shortly to go to Hastings, when a great demonstration will be held on this subject.

which rescued the Basque children for the new job of making the Government's air raid precautions "the most efficient in Europe"! The argument being, I suppose, that if Viscaya had had proper A.R.P. we shouldn't now have the responsibility of their children.

Well, I too once more invoke that God-given energy and enthusiasm. But for a different purpose.

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## CRAZY PAVING TO PEACE



*"Whom the Gods wish to destroy they first make mad"*

Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE

## IS IT PEACE?

The BBC's "Way of Peace" Broadcasts

By NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE

INCONCLUSIVENESS seems to be the main characteristic of this series of talks. Mr. Wilson Harris started well, with an analysis of the origin of the League of Nations, but like other League protagonists he couldn't stay the course, and finished lamely by saying that there was nothing really wrong with the League except that nobody would use it properly.

Of the early part of the discussion there is little to be said. It should be well-known ground to pacifists and members of the LNU alike. The League was formed quite definitely as an association of the Allied Powers for the enforcement of the Peace Treaties. As Wilson Harris put it: "They had won a war to end war, and they were prepared to fight another to keep it ended." By the end of the war there were 27 Allies fighting the Central Powers, and it was these 27 who were to be forced into the League. Indeed the first proposals for such a League came from the British Foreign Office during the last year of the war, and they were put forward as part of the political and military strategy of the war. The Great Powers were determined to gain control of the League by having sole representation on the council, and it was only after much wrangling on the part of the smaller Powers that membership of the Council was broadened. But no one would deny that the League has in fact been little more than an instrument for coordinating the policies of the victorious nations.

What, then, is to be done with the League if it is to be turned into an effective instrument for the establishment of peace? Let us see what Wilson Harris says: "When Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand, and Dr.

Stresemann were cooperating in full harmony at Geneva, the League could claim to be an effective guardian of the peace of Europe. Nothing has been shown to be wrong with the conception or the machinery of the League. What is wrong is the unwillingness of the chief States of the world to cooperate . . . without them there can be no effective League." The interesting thing about this remark is that it is quite true; but the corollary of this truth is that the League of Nations does not exist. And that is exactly why supporters of the League are in such a dilemma. They have pinned their faith in an entity called "The League of Nations," believing that it exists apart from and even above the nations which compose the League, and the men and women who compose the nations. As long as

everything went smoothly this illusion could be maintained; in the days of Stresemann and Locarno the League worked perfectly, which is another way of saying that there was no need for a League. The three main nations worked harmoniously not because of loyalty to a thing called the League, but because at that time their national interests did not conflict. But now that

conflict has arisen, the League is seen for what it is—an abstraction existing only on the vellum of the peace treaties. No, there is nothing wrong with the League, and there is nothing wrong with a man's promise or a quadratic equation, except that none of these abstractions can become realities until they have a real existence in the minds of men. And if the League is to exist, men and women must train themselves to feel that allegiance to a national state is incompatible with a real internationalism. So long as the

Union Jack remains as a symbol of the deity to the man in the street, all talk of the League of Nations is as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

## When Pacifism Means the "Sack"

## CAN PACIFISTS HELP EACH OTHER?

Special to Peace News

HOW many pacifists are being victimized in their jobs because of the views they hold?

The number must undoubtedly be growing as the result of the propaganda activities of the Peace Pledge Union. Until the PPU brought pacifists together and gave them work to do, they were able to hold their views in a safe silence.

Today these same people are active members, in many cases, of their local groups and are finding it more and more difficult (as the writer can testify) to reconcile their work for a living with their work for pacifism.

As in most cases where an ideal is misunderstood, pacifism is looked upon by the public as fanatic. If it is understood it is termed unpractical and cowardly.

Such an attitude makes the pacifist

unpopular and his job more and more insecure when employers cannot sympathize with such an extreme view.

The question now is: What is to be done with these victimized pacifists?

It rather points to the need for community interest among pacifists.

As matters become more urgent so will pacifists have to coordinate their resources if they are to live on a level with the rest of the world.

And they will have to do this if they are to permeate other people with their ideals.

## EMPLOYMENT BUREAU?

Community living is going to be a help in this connexion, but what seems even more important is the need at the present time of a Pacifist Employment Bureau. The bureau would have the names of pacifist employers. Members of the PPU could, when out of employment, apply to the bureau in their endeavours to find work again.

This is a principle which is applied by many trades unions.

## Spiritualist Pacifists

Among the 71 advertisement replies received by a member of the Peace Pledge Union who is trying to arrange coordination of pacifists within the spiritualist movement for more intensive propaganda, were five church presidents, seven secretaries, and three other officials.

A fuller report has been sent to all interested with a view to planning the next step. Pacifists who are also spiritualists should write to Ralph Woolfstein, 217 Richmond Road, London, E.8, giving information.

# Peace News

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

February 5, 1938

## YOUR OPPORTUNITY

A HAPPY event has just occurred. No, not that one: just the publication of a report, out of which *might* grow a saviour of the world, or at least a more popular heir to the spirit that now rules our material lives.

It was a small band of people that looked hopefully every day for news of the new arrival. And it was a smaller one still that cheered when it saw what came out of M. VAN ZEELAND's little black bag. Many of those who might have been expected to welcome any sign that held any sort of chance for a brighter future for mankind have either attempted to strangle this move at birth, on the ground of its unfortunate capitalistic parentage, or are in danger of allowing it to die of neglect, on the plea of doing nothing ill-considered or hasty.

Either course would be criminal folly at a time when those who govern affairs by the method of their own brand of folly—selfish interests, fear, violence—are only too anxious to kill the infant hope in their own way by embalming it in difficulties and entombing it in a pigeon-hole. To welcome this report and see that it develops into a new, healthier life for all, which should now be the most energetic task of everyone claiming to work for peace, is neither to hold any illusions as to the nature of international finance and capitalism nor to rush in where even angels would fear to tread.

*On the contrary, it is to take a lively interest in the report and bring to bear upon its development just that conviction of the practicability of non-violence and cooperation which is the pacifist's distinctive contribution to the search for peace.*

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY will preside over a private meeting in the House of Commons on Tuesday of leaders of the peace movement to consider the proposals and possibilities of the report. Whatever judgment they may come to as to the worth of individual proposals in themselves, they cannot but echo the plea made, in a letter to Monday's *Times*, by MR. LANSBURY himself, the REV. HENRY CARTER, and MR. PERCY W. BARTLETT that

it is for the people of our own country, since Great Britain is in the best position to follow up the initiative represented by the report, to press the Government not only to give careful consideration—as indeed Sir John Simon has already promised that it will—to the whole of the document, but also to take early steps to bring together the representatives of the principal economic Powers for the preparatory work contemplated by M. Van Zeeland in his closing recommendations. We are convinced from our contacts with Ministers abroad that the Scandinavian and East European countries would welcome and loyally support action of this kind.

Some fear that financial facilities for the re-establishment of international trade would be utilized to increase the burden of the world's armaments. We are convinced, however, that if Great Britain and the United States of America would propose a standstill in armaments the rest of the nations would respond.

Now is the peace movement's opportunity. *Let not any group leave its Member of Parliament, the Government, or the local press unaware of its determination that what hope there is here shall be realized, nor fail to make it plain that the alternative is to give the madness of war and its attendant evils an even freer hand over our destiny than we have allowed it hitherto.*

# WAR YESTERDAY AND TODAY

*"Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose"*

**T**O fight is human nature in the raw. But man does not seek to abolish war because he despises nature's way. *We must abolish it because the beastliness and destruction of war have become magnified a thousand times.*

\* \* \*

This passage, from a leading article in the *Evening News* on the significance of Armistice Day, particularly struck me.

I do not feel qualified to enter into a disquisition on the biological and evolutionary arguments about war; it is the concluding sentence that concerns me at the moment, and that is why it appears here in italics. I wondered as I read those words how far that declaration would appeal to my fellow-pacifists as a full and sufficient creed. I was therefore specially interested, when I read my PEACE NEWS that same weekend, in a letter from a reader who wished to "warn all fellow-pacifists against the danger of being involved in interminable controversies about abstract philosophical, theological, and historical questions". "I think," he said, "that the Union should concentrate on this fundamental thesis: that war between the nations today is futile and suicidal. We should limit our propaganda to this issue and avoid irrelevant controversy."

Having belonged to a university study-group on pacifism, I realize only too well the danger of being involved in interminable controversies about abstract questions; but I feel that we are running into even greater danger if we base our pacifism upon the idea that the war of today is something essentially different from the war of yesterday, and that the object of our attack is, not an age-long disease of the human race, but merely its particular manifestations today.

Of course, there are vast differences between modern warfare and that of any other age: the weapons used are far more terrible, and a much larger proportion of the suffering that they inflict falls on the civilian population. But the underlying nature of the disease is what it always was. To take a similar case: the mass-production of contraceptives has put a new complexion upon the problem of sexual immorality, but the fundamental problem is the same which has engaged the attention of the moral and spiritual leaders of all the ages. So it is with war.

Many qualities which are commonly regarded as belonging exclusively to modern warfare are characteristics inherent in war itself.

We say that war in the twentieth century is futile, and that the high ideals with which it is sometimes undertaken are never realized in the event. But so long ago as the third century (as Mr. Huxley points out), Tertullian remarked that truth, gentleness, and justice cannot be obtained by means of war:

Who shall produce these results with the sword and not rather those which are the contrary of gentleness and justice, namely deceit and harshness, which are of course the proper business of battles?

It is surely not surprising that such an observation should have been made so long ago: the operation of moral laws is irrespective of time and place, and among them is the law (to quote Mr. Huxley) "that good ends cannot be achieved by bad or even inappropriate means".

We say that war today is a perverter of the truth, a breeder of hypocrisy and lying propaganda, but these characteristics are much older than the age of newspapers. It is not only in our generation that all armaments are exclusively for defence. The other day I was reading a document of the year 1368 which made mention of a tax granted to the King in the year 1359-60 "for the expenses of men at arms, armed men and bowmen on sea and on land for the safety of the aforesaid kingdom and the expulsion and destruction of the enemies of the same lord the King who have made preparations for the invasion of the English kingdom." It will be remembered that Edward III had devoted a large part of his reign to the invasion of France and Scotland.

We say that modern warfare is beastly and destructive; but this is nothing new. It is true that "the beastliness and destruction of war have become magnified a thousand times" by the ingenuity of modern science; but the fundamental problem is an old one: the difference is only one of equipment. Over three hundred years ago, Grotius (in his *De Jure Belli et Pacis*) wrote:

I observe that men rush to arms for slight causes, or no cause at all, and that when arms have once been taken up there is no longer any respect for law divine or human; it is as if, in accordance with a general decree, frenzy had openly been let loose for the committing of all crimes.

"Atrocities," it is clear, are not a new development, and neither is cruelty in the ordinary conduct of warfare. Even in the medieval days of "chivalry," if a warrior spared his foe it was as often as not because he could get a good ransom for him: little mercy was shown to the "rabble." When it came to a siege, the soldiers of those days did not scruple to starve the enemy (men, women, and children) into surrender, while those within the city might indulge in the charming habit of pouring boiling pitch upon the besiegers.

"But," says someone, "they would surely have drawn the line at the use of poison gas and incendiary bombs." I wonder whether they would. They would pretty certainly have been shocked at such methods, but their scruples would doubtless have been overcome by the motive which actuated them no less than the soldiers of today: the desire to find the most efficient method of incapacitating the enemy. The people of the later Middle Ages were no doubt shocked at the idea of fighting with gunpowder, but that did not prevent its rapid growth as a recognized instrument of warfare.

War has always been cruel and degrading, the difference is that modern science has equipped cruelty and beastliness with new ways of expressing themselves. In so doing it has at least performed the service of showing us with a new vividness how terrible is the nature of the old enemy. For the methods of warfare are only the changing manifestations of an age-long disease of human society. The problem we are facing is aggravated by modern inventions, by modern economic conditions and by modern methods of propaganda, but is not created by them. It is created by human sinfulness, and is as old as history.

C. B. Freeman

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## PARS FOR THE PLATFORM

### "Precautions"

THE case against air raid "precautions" was supported by an engineer, who put the following in a letter to *Municipal Engineering*, Jan. 27. The facts are preceded by the points which are claimed in favour of the measures.

**Effectiveness.** The Government suggest that an attack would probably be in three waves, the high-explosive bombs, then the incendiary bombs, and finally the gas bombs. They admit, too, that the gas bombs are much less to be feared than either of the other two, and especially the high-explosive bomb. Yet their schemes are full of action to be taken in connection with the gas—that is, the least important.

**Government's financial aid.** We are paying 130s. per head per year for offensive weapons and 3s. per head per year for these "precautions." Yet we are arming for defence only. The Government refuse to pay the whole of the bill, so that Local Authorities must levy rates for the purpose. Where does the burden of this rate fall mostly? On those congested areas round factories, railways and docks—the areas which it is impossible to protect because of the poverty of the occupants—the areas whose need is greatest will be least able to pay. Can we tell the people that the financial provisions are just and right?

**Results.** The social services will be cut down and in some cases stopped altogether, even in time of peace—now, in fact. And, once stopped, who knows when they will be re-started?

**Prevention of panic.** When an air raid comes the people will realize that they have been deceived and the panic will be all the worse.

### Luxury

**METAL INDUSTRY.** which circulates among those who benefit most from rearmament, commented in its January 21 issue (page 96):

Concentration on an extension of the country's supply of weapons of war cannot fail to set the wheels of industry turning more briskly; but our point is that no civilized community can afford to make capital out of a rearmament programme.

### Escapologists

**A CORRESPONDENT** who has lived in China, in a British colony in Africa (the Gold Coast) and in Syria, has visited Palestine, knows British and North American economic imperialism in Latin America, having lived in Peru, Mexico, and Brazil, and has visited the Argentine and Chile, writes:

I don't want to minimize the evils in fascism, but I can assert from close observation of Germany, Italy, and these colonies and semi-colonies, that if Germany and Italy in some respects are like purgatory, the countries suffering from imperialism are veritable hells for the great majority. Those who are so excited over *Mein Kampf* had better read *The White Sahibs in India* and *Les Secrets de l'Afrique Noire*. Unless we look straight at ourselves we are "escapologists" and will never find the road to a better world.

### Intervention

**EVEN** responsible speakers sometimes repeat the familiar lie that pacifists are to be classed with non-interventionists like Lord Beaverbrook.

But Mr. Lansbury's recent visits to various European capitals are an excellent instance of intervention on the right lines. The whole object of pacifists is that of intervention in order to prevent wars, preparation for wars, and any necessity or air raid "precautions."

### What's the Difference?

**BRITISH** troops have been landed in Wei-hai-wei. They are there to guard British lives and property.

The situation is not altogether pleasing or by any means free from the risk of dangerous complications.

For the Japanese can ask, with perfect legal propriety, just what it is that makes it right for British troops to be in Wei-hai-wei but wrong for Japanese troops to be there.

And the question might perhaps be asked if the Japanese think it worth while to march down the Shantung peninsula and take the town.—*Daily Herald*, January 24.

### Soldier—

I AM a creature caught in a net. Most men fight, if not happily, at any rate patiently, sure of the necessity and usefulness of their work. So did I—once—now it all looks so absurd and brutal. I feel quite clearly that I ought to have stood aside. . . . To defy the whole system, to refuse to be an instrument of it, this is what I should have done.

From the diary of A. G. West, a young soldier killed in the Great War.

### —and Statesman

**MILITARISM** does not consist in the existence of an army, nor even in the existence of a great army. Militarism is a spirit. It is a point of view. It is a system. It is a purpose.

So said Woodrow Wilson in a speech on June 13, 1916 (before the United States entered the War).

## A Weekly Commentary

### Absolute : Relative : Absolute

**A**SOLUTE Pacifism is a fairly familiar phrase. I caught myself wondering the other day whether it was not ambiguous. In any case it is capable of at least two different interpretations which may easily be confused with one another. One is that absolute Pacifism is based upon the *absolute* repudiation of violence. The principle itself is absolute, whether it be grounded in rational considerations, or an interpretation of history, or the self-evidence of the ethical teaching of Jesus, or in reverence for it as a divine command. Violence begets violence; evil begets evil. I respect those who believe in and obey this as an absolute principle; but I do not accept it myself. I believe, for example, that D. H. Lawrence was probably right when he said that a spanking which sprang from the solar plexus—from a passionate, instinctive, not a rational and calculated motive—did a child less harm than "the lovey-dovey business." The beastliness of modern war is that you can't wage it from the solar plexus.

The absoluteness of Pacifism, for me, lies not in the absoluteness of its principle, but in the absoluteness of the individual decision. A point is reached, in human history, when the manifest evil of war outweighs any possible good that may emerge from it. The weapons of war are so terrible that merely to use them involves a bestialization of humanity. I do not believe that this was always true; nor do I believe, overmuch, in the fidelity of the man who says: "I will *never* do evil that good may come." I should say that such a man lacked either humility, or experience of life, or both together. At any rate, though I do not think myself conspicuously more of a ruffian than my fellows, I know that I have, time and time again, been compelled to do evil that good may come; and I also know that, time and time again, evil has been done to me and good has come of it.

Absolute Pacifism, therefore, as I understand it, does not say that good can never come of evil. That would be to fly in the face of all my experience. It simply says that the evil of modern war is so monstrous that it completely and utterly outweighs any good that may come of it. That is a definite and specific moral judgment on a particular historical situation; and since politics, in any true philosophy, must be subordinate to ethics, it is a judgment with immense and immediate political consequences. For the individual who makes that judgment the absolute refusal to take part in modern war is obviously a political act. For a government, which must take account of the number of its citizens who are pledged to this refusal, it is a political fact. Sooner or later, the government will have to decide what to do with these people, in circumstances in which the traditional British compromise is no longer possible.

So that Pacifism is politics: it cannot avoid being politics, in this essential sense. But that is a totally different matter from saying that Pacifists are susceptible of organization as a

political party. My personal conviction is that this is a mistaken notion, and that organization as a political party is almost as incompatible with Pacifism as it is with Christianity. Of course, there have been plenty of "Christian" political parties on the Continent: the latest is the National Christians of Rumania, who appear to be organized for the peculiarly Christian purpose of extirpating the Jews. Christian political parties run pretty true to type: there is nothing Christian about them, except the label.

I do not for one moment suggest that Pacifists, if organized as a political party, would suffer that kind of degeneration. The danger lies in another direction. There is but a single plank to the Pacifist platform: the repudiation of modern war. It has but a single recommendation: to stop modern war by refusing to take part in it. On that Pacifists are united; beyond that there are illimitable varieties of opinion. What are the causes of war, today, for example? One man believes they are economic; another says political; another says moral; yet another says that the condition of war derives from the very biological bases of human existence. It is possible, it is even probable that all these various diagnoses are the same diagnosis. But Pacifists are still a very long way from having reached agreement as to what it is. So that, in fact, their unity is both more genuine and more impressive when they remain organized on their own peculiar basis. Then their Yea is Yea, and their Nay, Nay.

Therefore I think that the idea of a uniform political expression for Pacifists is chimerical; and that Pacifism is more imaginatively conceived as the formation of a moral judgment in the individual which may have revolutionary consequences of various kinds. It is like the seed in the Gospel which the sower went forth to sow. Sometimes it falls on stony ground: when there are no revolutionary consequences. Such people sign the card, as they would sign a petition, and think no more about it. In other hearts it bears fruit: some thirty, some sixty, some a hundredfold. In other words, it turns Pacifists into something other and more than Pacifists—into Socialists, into Christians, into mystics, into creators of new communities, into adepts in disciplined non-violent resistance. I don't profess to know what precisely is the hundredfold harvest. But I am quite certain that it has not been ripened or reaped in the heart of anyone who, having indeed become something more than a Pacifist, believes that his is thenceforward the only way. There is no "correct line" for Pacifists, no matter what they become.

Their business is to be awakeners of the human imagination to the sheer obscenity of modern war, primarily, and then to the corruption of many other conditions which tend to make probable the outbreak of war. And, I should say, their business is also and equally to bring into being some germ of positive and creative life—that is, of quickened individuality, in themselves and others—that may work against the tremendous deathward drive of de-individualized humanity.

## A BOOK A WEEK FOR YOUR PUBLIC LIBRARY

By PATRICK RICHARDS

If pacifists are really active, libraries can become permanent peace centres. It is easy for every member of the Peace Pledge Union (even if he or she has only five minutes to spare in a whole week), to see that all books stating the pacifist case, no matter from what angle, are available for the public on the shelves of the library.

The Preston Librarian is to be congratulated on his leaflet, *Peace and War, a selection of books in the public library*, yet even this only has twelve volumes by pacifists in a total of some eighty books. Perhaps your library has even less!

### HOW TO DO IT

Writing an item on a suggestion card or in a suggestion book is a simple matter, yet one which may, and quite often does have far-reaching results.

By doing this you can make sure that means are available for directing the reading public's interest in peace and, if you belong to subscribing libraries also, you can influence another section of the public by suggesting pacifist non-fiction and fiction books there.

To make such suggestions an even easier matter, short reviews of pacifist books will appear in succeeding issues of PEACE NEWS, starting next week.

In writing these reviews, my one object will be to direct readers' attention to the most important books. To save readers wasting time which can be better employed elsewhere, I have read, and in many cases, re-read these books most carefully, making detailed notes throughout, and if the views expressed are at times unconventional, I hope the time and attention given to this feature will be remembered.

\* \* \* \* \* Why not cut this out for reference?

Casualties of Britain in Great War 2,661,811

Road Casualties in Britain Since Great War 3,150,000

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### Recent Publications

## LORD PONSONBY'S ADVICE ON PUBLIC SPEAKING

### HINTS FOR PLATFORM AND PARLIAMENTARY SPEAKERS.

Lord Ponsonby. Allen and Unwin. 2s.

Reviewed by

A. STEPHEN NOEL

LORD PONSONBY has added to the literature of oratory an admirable little manual on the art of public speaking.

To the pacifist the name of Lord Ponsonby is associated with meeting after meeting where his art of speech-making has been made manifest to us. It is well, therefore, to have in a concise and handy form his considered and mature views on the nature and practice of this adventure of the platform.

The book is not written for the



Lord Ponsonby.

pacifist reader, but its wider appeal does not detract from its value as an encouraging and practical aid to the somewhat timid beginner.

The pacifist has one or two advantages over the more definite party politician.

In the first place he can make his initial speech to his own group and so learn by degrees that confidence in platform oratory which is the theme of Lord Ponsonby's book. Secondly, since pacifism is a faith and an approach to the problems of life, it is not immediately concerned with the expediency and policies of the mature political candidate. It can therefore accept from its speakers principles instead of technicalities. It is "facts" that so often intimidate zealous advocates.

Nevertheless it is true that one of the weaknesses of pacifist oratory is that it inclines to stress issues which are general and moral, and ignore

those which are specific and immediately politic.

Pacifist speakers should therefore secure a copy of Lord Ponsonby's book and take seriously to heart his advice.

Particularly valuable is his emphasis on preparation not only of the speech (he suggests that this may be over-prepared!) but of the room and the programme, so that the "atmosphere" is conducive to sincere and effective speaking. Organizers of meetings do not always realize how sensitive a speaker is to time, place, and conditions.

Perhaps in a brief space it may be possible to sum up the essence of Lord Ponsonby's thought in these words:—

The indispensable bases of good speech are simplicity and sincerity. Simplicity does not mean bald language, but plain English carefully composed. For this the reading of good English prose is a great help, that is to say, getting into your head the rhythm of finely balanced sentences made up of simple words.

To the pacifist speaker nothing could be more appropriate.

### AFRICAN EMPIRES

### LORDS OF THE EQUATOR. An African Journey. Patrick Balfour. Hutchinson. 12s. 6d.

Reviewed by  
MOSA ANDERSON.

Mr. Balfour travels with observant eyes and ears, and the pen of a skilful writer, through the French, Portuguese, Belgian, and British territories which lie mainly in the basin of the Congo. He gives the reader a strong impression of good and bad intermixed under each of these overlords.

He gives no grounds for complacently regarding British rule as heaven-sent. He blows sky-high the view, expressed to him by a British official, that "the native respects us, you see, because he sees we're gentlemen." He praises the British official at his best, but is not certain that, in the event of a plebiscite, the Africans would choose British rule rather than German.

It is not surprising to find warm praise of Belgian rule in Ruanda-Urundi, and particularly of the plans for the education of a considerable number of Africans to man the government secretariats and to become medical, veterinary, and agricultural specialists.

More surprising to many will be the



### REVIEWS IN BRIEF

### HANDBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. (ASSOCIATIONS, BUREAUX, COMMITTEES, &c.) League of Nations. (British distributors: Allen and Unwin.) 12s. 6d.

This volume gives, on nearly 500 pages, full details of nearly 760 international organizations.

Included are international bureaux placed under the direction of the League, official central bureaux and private associations and federations in so far as they have international objects and are not run for profit.

The organizations have been classified according to their objects or activities. In addition, three indices have been provided: a subject index, an alphabetical index, and a geographical index.

From the last, it appears that nearly half the total number of international organizations have their seats in France and Switzerland. There are 183 in France (172 in Paris alone), and 140 in Switzerland (80 in Geneva). Great Britain follows next with 78, and Belgium close behind with 77.

The handbook will prove invaluable to all engaged in international life.

### MAXIMS FOR PACIFISTS. Felton's Printing Service, 4a Station Parade, West Worthing, Sussex. 2d.

Over fifty quotations showing aspects of pacifist thought through the ages, from Sophocles to Aldous Huxley; not all from pacifist writers, but all of value to pacifists, both for quotation and for the development of their own ideas.

### THE FUTILITY OF AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS: Speech delivered in the House of Lords by Lord Arnold. Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. 1d.

Lord Arnold's views on the Air Raid Precautions Bill, showing how "precautions" create a war mentality, how utterly inadequate they are on practical grounds, and the pacifist case for removing the conditions leading to air raids.

### NEW P.P.U. POSTER.—In two colours; wording—"Join the Peace Pledge Union." 2d. each. Order from 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

picture, which is by no means black, of Loanda after four centuries of rule by Portugal. Though there was economic stagnation, there was lacking any oppressive sensation of something imposed from above. Ruler and ruled lived together in a civilization which the Africans had absorbed, in an African city embellished by the architectural dignity of Europe.

Here is something at which we cannot scoff. For pictures such as these, this book is worth reading and worth it is amusing and well written.

Men WILL answer to the trumpet,  
Mrs. Nobbs.

WE can stick at home and lump it,  
Mrs. Nobbs.

When the bombers come up stealthy,  
And it's dug-outs for the wealthy,  
"Stick at home" is not so healthy,  
Mrs. Nobbs.

—From the Peace Pledge Union's leaflet, *Mrs. Higgs to Mrs. Nobbs.* (Unfortunately we haven't room to show the aeroplanes they are watching.)

A new leaflet in the same style is just out. Entitled *Air Raid Precautions*, and with an equally simple but effective illustration as that shown above, it gives (in verse) the "low-down" on the A.R.P. bluff.

The price is 4s. per 1,000. Order from the P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

### IDEA

### How to

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## IDEAS FOR ACTION

## How to Spread the Pacifist Message

## 6.—Poster Parades.

(The following notes are based on the experience of a contributor who found a poster parade, in spite of very bad weather, to be a most effective form of propaganda).

In a busy district some thousands of people can be reached by this method—including many who would probably never think of attending a public meeting.

The effectiveness of such a parade is in proportion to the number of people taking part. Provided there are sufficient helpers, it is better to have the parade on more than one day, especially if it can be taken into different districts of a town on each day.

The more densely populated the area in which the parade can be held, the better. The route chosen should not be very long or difficult, and it should be remembered that the progress of the parade will have to be fairly slow. A musical band to accompany the parade is very helpful.

The posters can be divided into sections dealing with different aspects of the peace question, and each section preceded by a banner giving its title. The posters should be mounted on wood or stout cardboard. By an arrangement of detachable shoulder straps, they can be hung on either side of the carriers. This enables them to be seen from both sides of the street. A continuous message can be spread over several posters.

Leaflets should be distributed to on-lookers during the parade.

Finally, don't forget to give the police ample notice of your intentions, and to find out what regulations need to be observed.

WIDER STILL AND WIDER  
the net of "Defence" is spread

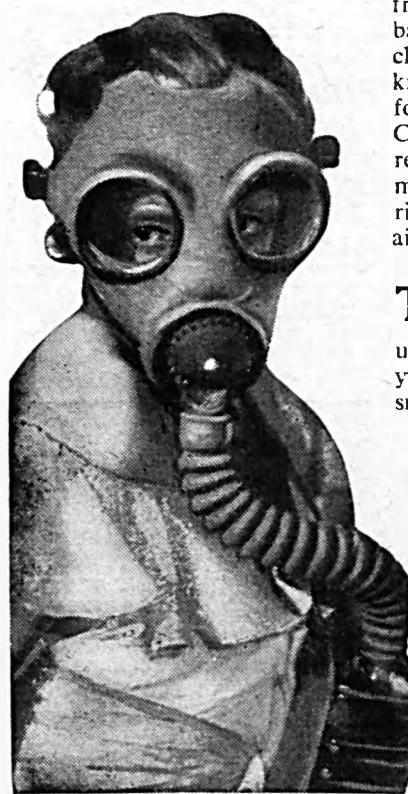
THE baroque front of the old Wood Lane Exhibition buildings, its yellow plaster figures peeling and faded, is undergoing redecoration.

And not only the front is undergoing this transformation. The barbed wire has been repaired and is now unbroken round the whole grounds, the double gates are guarded by a plain-clothes official, the fence is high, and at the small door in the main front is a commissioner who questions all strangers.

Over this door is a board: "B Equipment Depot, R.A.F."

GOING westward, to the estates at Acton, Willesden, Stonebridge Park, Harlesden, we come to the desolate wastes of the factories. Grey corrugated roofs behind a facade of red brick. One such building on Western Avenue (one still larger at Enfield, and a whole site of them in course of erection at Greenford) has no name. The big side doors open and shut at various times during the day, and inside can be seen the dull green shelves and the cardboard boxes neatly stacked on them. Gas-masks.

On the Basingstoke road, not far south of Reading, is another building without a name. At Croydon the surveyors have just left and the foundations are being marked out: steelwork is scarce, but stanchions and trusses will soon be along, for work must go



To make us all like this is the aim of unnoticed activity now going on.

ahead as quickly as possible. Mud is deep and lorries flounder over rough sleeper tracks. On this mud will rise the nameless buildings.

On the Newmarket road outside Cambridge the last lorries are gone

from the red brick and grey roof. The barbed wire and wire mesh fencing is clean and strong. The bus conductor knows of the "new Government place," for he passes it on every journey. But few Cambridge people know of it. And fewer realize its significance. (One wonders how many think for a moment of the scientists, right in their midst, of whose verdicts on air and gas attack we hear so terribly little.)

THE cloud shifts, and out of it comes a little roaring speck. A small girl looks up and says, "Look, an aeroplane." "Ain't you seen one of them before?" says the small boy, "They ain't nothing."

And they run off to school where they are taught how the brave British drove out the wicked Boers from South Africa, and later beat the wicked German submarines with mines; and how much of the map is red; and how well the natives are governed, &c. Are they told the price of butter in Germany? Perhaps not.

At Shepherds Bush a crowd of men, thin, forlorn, hover round the doors of the Labour Exchange.

In the Connaught suite of the York Rooms the staff of the British Tanganyika Development Company is holding its 33rd annual dinner at 8 o'clock, reception at 7.45.

At the Fulham wharves the fuselages, propellers, engines, packed but bearing no mark, are being unshipped almost daily.

"Shall I at least set my lands in order?"

C. G. AUSTIN



Ready for the fray.

Bradford pacifists set out to advertise a public meeting.

## Signposts . . .

## . . . from History

VICTORY BY WAR

leads to

MORE WAR

1853. The Russian army occupied the Rumanian provinces of the Turkish Empire and the Russian navy destroyed a Turkish squadron in the Black Sea. The reason officially given for these attacks was the refusal of the Sultan of Turkey to recognize the Czar of Russia as protector of the Sultan's Christian subjects. The underlying cause was the Russian Government's desire to partition the Turkish Empire and control Constantinople.

1854. The Russian attacks caused great indignation in those countries which supported the Sultan, namely, Great Britain and France. British and French fleets and armies were sent to the Black Sea. Not content with forcing the Russians to evacuate the Rumanian provinces, the British and French in their turn invaded the Crimea, where the campaigns of the next year cost about 600,000 lives, of which 500,000 were Russian. S.D.U.

## Films

## AUTHOR PROTESTS AT CUTS

"IT is not a question of whether one agrees or disagrees with the pacifist thesis, but whether there is the same freedom for its statement in art as for the opposite ideas of military glory which the cinema has portrayed in a great many pictures without interference."

So said Mr. James Hilton, author of *Lost Horizon*, in writing to P. L. Mannock of the *Daily Herald* recently regarding the cutting of his film.

Mr. Hilton said that he wrote

not so much from the point of view of an aggrieved author as from that of a liberal minded citizen who would not like to feel that there were forces at work to impose a disguised censorship upon any expression of pacifist feelings in movies.

Although Mr. Hilton realized that the cuts were to get the picture into double-feature programmes, he said "Even so, it is unfortunate that the cuts should be those which express something of the mood and philosophy of the book."

## EMPEROR AT FILM SHOW

A film of the Italo-Ethiopian war prepared by the Italian Government will be shown in the Phoenix Theatre, Charing Cross Road, on February 15, at 3 p.m. Addresses will be given by the Emperor of Ethiopia and Dr. A. W. C. Martin, Ethiopian Minister in London. Tickets (6d. to 10s.) are obtainable from *New Times and Ethiopia News*, 3 Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex. Proceeds will go to the Ethiopian Fund.

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## BOOKS

PEACE PLEDGE UNION Library: This is to remind you that there is a library of pacifist books at P.P.U. Headquarters. Catalogue and borrowing conditions on application to the Librarian, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

## EDUCATIONAL

CLASSES IN WRITING (with a little public speaking and poetry also) begin Tuesday and Thursday, February 22 and 24, and run fortnightly from 8 to 9.15 p.m. Fee £1 15s. for course of 10. Private lessons (by visit and correspondence) on similar lines.—Miss Dorothy Matthews, B.A., Matthews-Surfleet School of English, 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRI. 5686.

RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL is the guiding motive of education at Sherwood School, Burgh Heath Road, Epsom. Junior House, 3-9 years. Senior House, 9-18 years. Vacancies for two boarders.

WE BUILD for Peace—May we send a prospectus:—Felcourt School, East Grinstead, Sussex.

## HEALTH AND MEDICAL

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## ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES

ALBUMS, SCROLLS, &c., from 3 to 100 guineas. Battley Brothers Ltd., Printers and Publishers, The Queensgate Press, Clapham Park, S.W.4.

## MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 165 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

PEACE PROBLEMS Study Group will meet on Wednesday, February 9, at 8.15 p.m. at 129 Gloucester Terrace, W.2 (near Lancaster Gate Station). India evening. All interested are welcome.

## PEACE STICKERS

P.P.U. "STICKERS" (adhesive stamps) may be used on your letters. 1s. per 100 from Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

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## PEACE NEWS

## DIARY OF THE WEEK

February

- 5 (Sat.) SHEFFIELD; 4.30 p.m. Y.M.C.A. Lounge; tea-table conference to arrange formation of a local branch; Rev. E. Benson Perkins; FoR.
- UXBRIDGE; 8 p.m. Central Hall; open-air meeting; PPU speakers.
- BEXHILL; 8.15 p.m. Victoria Hall; Hastings Pax Players present one-act plays including *And so to War*; PPU.
- 6 (Sun.) GLASGOW; 11.15 a.m. 100 West Regent Street; R. H. Thouless on "The Problem of Pacifism at the Present Time"; Study Circle.
- PLYMOUTH; 3 p.m. Swarthenmore Hall, Mutley Plain; Kenneth Angus on the Bristol Conference; PPU.
- LONDON, N.W.1; 6.30 p.m. Christ Church, Woburn Square; Students' Service; Dr. Nicholas Zernov on "Christianity in Russia."
- WALTHAMSTOW; 8.15 p.m. Friends' Hall; Capt. Philip Mumford; play, *X=0*, by John Drinkwater; PPU.
- 10 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10-2 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. G. H. Hickman-Johnson; City PPU group.
- LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; discussion on non-violence to be opened by Kenneth Lee; City PPU group.
- MUSWELL HILL; 8 p.m. Methodist Church, Colney Hatch Lane; film show of *Kameradschaft* and three shorts; PPU.
- 11 (Fri.) DURSLEY; 7.30 p.m. YMCA Hall; Canon Stuart Morris; PPU.
- ST. PANCRAS; 7.30 p.m. The Baths; Mr. Bob Toole, Mr. Harry Adams, Miss Hilda Vernon, and Councillor Hawkins; St. Pancras Peace Council.
- 12 (Sat.) ASHFORD, Kent; 3.15 p.m. Cooperative Hall, High Street; Regional Conference; Miss E. Thorneycroft on "The necessity of Pacifism"; PPU.
- HORNCHURCH; 8 p.m. Elm Park Junior School; Maurice Rowntree, Councillor Tarr, and Councillor Twigger; PPU.
- 12 and 13 (Sat. and Sun.) MARBLE ARCH; British Industries House, Oxford Street; International Peoples' Assembly; International Peace Campaign.
- 13 (Sun.) SHAW; 8 p.m. Cooperative Hall; debate; Canon Stuart Morris; PPU and LNU.

## PLEASE HAND THIS TO YOUR NEWSAGENT

To M. ....

(Newsagent's name)

Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly.

Name ....

Address ....

as from issue dated ....

Note to Newsagent.—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a national newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11 (Tel: Enterprise 1888).

## DEAR SIR . . . . .

## War Toys

I COULD give several examples known to me of children who played with soldiers, &c., and who grew up to be ardent pacifists (my husband being one of them), and one at least where the opposite—that of a boy who was denied access to such toys and is now militaristically inclined—holds true.

Therefore, though I shall, of course, not introduce guns and tanks to my son, I shall not refuse him if, later on, he begs to have such things. But I shall decline to join in any play with them, telling him I don't like those toys as much as his others; to the inevitable "Why?" I shall reply that they remind me of real weapons, which are bad things.

Sooner or later he will ask for further explanations, and I shall be very much surprised if, by his middle teens, my gradual propaganda and the anti-war books left in his way, coupled with a loving, non-violent upbringing, have not far outweighed in effect that of the long-discarded soldiers and guns.

MARGARET WALKER.

Squirrel Cottage,  
Woldingham, Surrey.

## RELIGION

With my thinking I have come to the same conclusion as Mr. Middleton Murry that the aim of pacifists must be the founding of a religion, or the refounding of the Christian religion, but I cannot agree with what he said in his previous article, i.e., that "the place for every pacifist is inside the Church."

Christianity is for me, like pacifism, a way of life, and the whole world is a place of worship and prayer, these meaning service to the cause with action, thought, and propaganda.

LILY LENZI.

Holloway.

I am writing to ask whether all who are interested in the Peace Pledge Union will give this letter their most earnest consideration.

The PPU associates itself from all organized religion and, indeed, some of its members would deny that they had any use for religion at all, organized or not. Some would even say that there is no God.

Frankly, this amazes me to a degree, as it must do any thinking man or woman.

Why, the very heart of your movement is a deeply rooted religious instinct. "Blessed are the peacemakers," said Jesus, "for they shall be called the children of God."

Apart from Christianity, philosophy would give the same answer, that God and God alone was the prime mover in your urge for the peace of the world and that the PPU was only an imperfect expression of the perfect ideal of the brotherhood of man in the heart of God.

Why, then, do the members of the PPU not come boldly out on the side of religion, and each one be a loyal member of the particular faith he holds? If each member made God the very centre of his being, and for God's sake and God's sake alone openly and professedly strove for the peace of the world, I am quite convinced that their weight on the side of peace would be increased a millionfold. And not only on the side of peace, but they would become a potent influence for combating the anti-Godism which is threatening the world.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

You could have men and women of every shade of religious thought and conviction as members and, indeed, welcome so-called atheists as well, because the very cause into which they throw themselves so unreservedly shows that they are far from the materialists they would profess to be. If you did this, too, you could discuss religious questions frankly and freely among yourselves, and each cull from the other something of the richness of the infinite variety of the expression of God. And those of you who think most deeply will, I have no doubt, come in the end to be convinced that Jesus, the incarnate God, gathers, as it were, and sums up in himself, all that is good and holy and true and beautiful in every other religion of the world.

St. Paul said that the law was a schoolmaster to lead the people of Israel to Christ. Indeed, I think it may be said that all that is good and beautiful in Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism, or any other "ism," has been inspired by the same holy spirit of God, who brooded over chaos and brought light and creation into being; and that all these "isms" are only tutors to lead to the fullness of Christ.

SISTER MARY, O.H.G.

31 Eccleston Square,  
London, S.W.1

## TAKING SIDES

With regard to Sir Norman Angell's article in the *Daily Herald* (January 14), it is the socialist who must take sides, not the pacifist.

Party politics are not the be-all and end-all of existence. Surely the example of Spain has shown us the folly of relying upon militarism to back up socialism. Let us put first things first, and base our socialism upon pacifism.

Supposing the next election resulted in a tory victory, does anyone imagine they could pursue a war-making policy against the opposition of a truly pacifist Labour Party.

War, fascism, and imperialism can be defeated in the realm of ideas unsupported by arms or violent methods and the sooner we recognize this the sooner we shall achieve our goal. The workers of the world are asked to do the fighting and to kill one another, whether it be an international conflict or a so-called civil war; let the workers refuse to fight and the victory will be theirs.

In an election we can vote for and vote against. A vote for a labour candidate can be a vote against the tory, but not necessarily an endorsement of everything the labour man stands for. It seems to me the Labour Party is straining at the gnat of pacifism and swallowing the camel of rearmament.

ARTHUR TOMLINSON.

"Altair," Dedmire Rise,  
Marlow.

## ANOTHER RELIGIOUS BOOK CLUB

May I commend to all readers of PEACE NEWS the Student Christian Movement Religious Book Club, and point out two of the titles of forthcoming books: *The Christian and War*, by Professor C. E. Raven, and *The Achievement of Personality in the light of Psychology and Religion*, by Grace Stuart.

The January book is a brilliant survey by Roger Lloyd of revolutionary religion, Christianity, communism, and fascism.

Further particulars are obtainable from the S.C.M. Press Ltd., 58 Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

F. ALLEN WADE.  
41 Roberts Street,  
Wellingborough.

## Mrs. Crozier

WILL you kindly allow us to draw the attention of your readers to the financial position of the widow of the late Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier, CB, CMG, DSO.

At the time of the trouble in Ireland, General Crozier resigned his commission on grounds which should commend themselves to all persons who have a respect for the traditions of the British Services. Thus after many years of fine military service, in which he was highly distinguished for his personal bravery, General Crozier forfeited the pension to which he would shortly have become entitled.

During the last ten years of his life General Crozier devoted himself to the cause of peace and appeared on many platforms as a speaker, first for the League of Nations Union and then for the Peace Pledge Union, in whose cause he showed the same courage and enthusiasm as he had previously displayed in his army career.

Unhappily, since his death in August last his widow has been without financial support, and Mrs. Crozier is at present prevented by illness from engaging in the work she desires to do to maintain herself. We are sure there must be many people whose personal admiration for General Crozier is such that they would welcome the opportunity of showing their regard for him in concrete form by helping his widow over this difficult period.

We now invite them to join with us in contributing to a fund for this purpose. The late Canon Sheppard's secretary has kindly consented to act as treasurer. Will those who would like to support this appeal please send

their contributions to Miss Nancy Browne, 94 Ebury Street, London, S.W.1, who will be glad to furnish any further particulars.

B. H. LIDDELL HART.  
PONSONBY.  
GEORGE LANSBURY.  
LAURENCE HOUSMAN.  
CHARLES RAVEN.  
MAUDE ROYDEN.  
STORM JAMESON.  
P. G. GRIFFITH.  
PHILIP MUMFORD.

94 Ebury Street,  
London, S.W.1.

## "Precautions"

It seems to me a pity that pacifists should lay themselves open needlessly to a charge of "uncharitableness" or indifference to suffering. I sympathize with their objection to "precautions" as possible producers of fear or hatred, but at the same time I can see no advantage in shutting our eyes to the possibility of approaching air warfare over England.

If we scruple to ally ourselves with Red Cross or St. John's, should not pacifists form a separate organization of men and women pledged, equipped, and trained to give their lives in the service of injured or endangered civilians the world over. Such a league of love would shut the mouths of those who accuse us of uncharitableness, and would, I think, recruit many to the cause of pacifism.

It might form part of the memorial to Dick Sheppard and be named the "Dick Sheppard League of Love."

D. S. BATLEY.

Mission House,  
Shikarpur, Bengal.

## TOWNSMAN

A Quarterly Review

Edited by Ronald Duncan

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G. Millwood, Boxhill Road, Teddington, Surrey

# Peace News

February 5, 1938

Diary and Classified Advertisements on Page 10.

## ESSENTIALS OF THE VAN ZEELAND REPORT

**FOLLOWING** are the main suggestions contained in M. Van Zeeland's report to the British and French Governments on his "inquiry into the possibility of obtaining a general reduction of quotas and of other obstacles to international trade," published on Friday of last week:—

### BARRIERS TO TRADE

**In economic sphere:** Governments should undertake not to raise or widen range of tariffs; negotiation of bilateral commercial agreements based on "most-favoured-nation" clause (more respect being paid to the spirit which originally inspired the latter); gradual suppression of industrial quotas; no new quotas to be imposed, no existing quotas to be tightened up—with reservations in case of agricultural quotas (owing to difficulties in production).

**In financial sphere:** Obstacles to trade can best be mitigated (as an interim solution) by extension of Tripartite Monetary Agreement of September, 1936, between Britain, France, and the U.S.A.; definite solution needed of problem of international monetary standard—to be sought in re-establishment of gold standard on a much altered basis (but probably too early for any such attempt); abolition of exchange controls and clearings on following lines:—

1. Creditor countries to resume lending;  
2. External debts of debtor countries to be finally adjusted and all arrears of clearing liquidated;

3. Export and import credits to be made available to debtor countries, when their finances have been adjusted, through Bank of International Settlements, under whose direction there would also be established a common fund to finance legitimate trade operations.

### RAW MATERIALS, COLONIES

M. Van Zeeland summarizes different viewpoints and enumerates the following suggestions:—

1. Internationalization of MANDATES system;

2. System of OPEN DOOR (as in Conventional Basin of the Congo) to be made general;

3. Where this is impossible, creation of PRIVILEGED COMPANIES whose capital would be divided internationally;

4. AGREEMENTS BETWEEN COLONIES AND INDUSTRIAL STATES for supply of colonial goods in exchange for industrial products.

### ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

M. Van Zeeland stresses political aspects of many of the questions involved, and recognizes difficulties in the way of solutions. Therefore, he says,

Our best course will be to attempt a new method very general in its nature, which should appeal to mutual good will, but the object of which will be above all to secure to each participant the tangible advantage of collective action.

The report then proposes the conclusion of a pact of economic collaboration, containing two parts, binding signatories to:—

1. Abstain from certain practices contrary to general welfare; and

2. Take up and examine in a spirit of understanding and mutual assistance the problems and difficulties arising in their economic relations.

**The following action toward this goal is then suggested:—**

1. Bringing together as soon as possible representatives of principal economic Powers for preparatory work.

2. If constructive proposals are forthcoming, the second step would be entrusted to a bureau appointed for the purpose. This bureau would gather facts and suggestions from all States, and from these would draw

## BIGGEST BLACK-OUT PROVES A FARCE

From Our Own Correspondent

**M**ORE money and work were put into two hours of Britain's biggest black-out, held in Leicester early last Friday morning, than have been put into this country's work for peace for years past.

The official reason for the black-out was to discover whether through traffic and essential services could carry on under air raid "precaution" conditions.

Four buses and a number of flying squad cars carrying experts were the traffic, and the essential services were represented by fire engines, ambulances, and trams.

For some reason all cars were diverted along by-passes. Most lorry-drivers avoided the town like a plague.

### PREPARATIONS

For over a week gangs of men had been painting black and white stripes on trees and kerbs on main roads, and fixing special reflectors on the road edge.

All traffic lights (which are visible from a height of 10,000 feet) had special covers made so that only a slit of light showed. Tops of posts on traffic islands were painted black.

Railway trains ran without lights and with tarpaulins over engine cabs. Arc lamps in sidings were shaded.

The corporation asked employers to cancel night shifts. A number did so and the remainder was asked to darken windows.

### COST UNKNOWN

Thus at a cost of hundreds of pounds there was arranged a trial for traffic, complete in every way—except that the traffic was not there and no air raid was in progress.

It is impossible to obtain any authoritative estimate of the cost.

### LATE NEWS

If you have difficulty in getting PEACE NEWS (or if your newsagent is unable to deliver it by Saturday morning) send a card at once to

59 Waterfall Rd., London, N.11

up a programme of constructive action.

3. It would then be necessary to ensure, through diplomatic channels, that there was agreement of principle among interested parties on main lines of this programme. If a sufficient number of States took up a favourable attitude, the bureau would draw up texts for signature.

4. A conference would be summoned to put final touches to the necessary documents and to exchange signatures.

### WORLD PEACE

A Philosopher gives the Christian key to peace and shows how you can end your troubles if you want to. £100 paid if it is proved not to be true. Don't lift your little finger to prevent war and internal troubles, rather add to them, and when they come blame everybody else but yourself for them. Cloth 3/3, Paper 2/2, post free, from "World Peace" 111 Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1

## Woodford's Memorial to Dick Sheppard

**A** FIRST-FLOOR room to be called the Dick Sheppard Memorial Peace Room, has just been taken by the Woodford and Loughton group of the Peace Pledge Union.

Occupying a prominent position on the main road at Woodford Green (70 High Road), the room will be used as group headquarters and also as a rest room for the public. There will be a lending library and pacifist literature will also be on sale.

The rent for the first few months has been generously guaranteed by a member of the group and a number of others have offered both money contributions and also their time to "mind the shop." The room has been rented from February 1, and the official opening, which it is hoped to make a means of propaganda in the local press, will take place shortly.

The room is immediately opposite the "Castle" bus stop and consequently by posters and the projecting sign, which will be displayed, should attract a good deal of attention and induce many to enter and find out for themselves what "this pacifism" is.

All pacifists in the neighbourhood who can give any help, however small, in running it, are asked to communicate with the group secretary: Mrs. Mary Catt, 16 Keynsham Avenue, Woodford Green.

### WARNING PROVES USELESS IN WAR

Air raids on Barcelona on two occasions last week took place so suddenly that they were over before the sound of the alarm sirens had stopped.

### NO COMPLETE PROTECTION

An admission "that no plans which are within the range of practicability can provide complete immunity" is made by the Home Secretary in *Home and Empire*.

Sir Samuel Hoare adds that in the event of air raids there would be heavy damage and serious casualties. Air raid precautions [he says] cannot prevent this damage or these casualties altogether; they can, however, minimize them and they can reduce the psychological effect of raids.

### TEACHERS' CONFERENCE

A conference on "Air Raid Precautions in Schools" for teachers and others interested will be held in the Central Hall, Westminster, from 2.30 to 5.30 p.m.

It has been arranged by the Teachers' Advisory Committee of the London Federation of Peace Councils, and will deal particularly with the recent Board of Education circular (No. 1461) on the subject.

The chief speaker will be Professor J. Marrack, of the London Hospital. It is hoped that a French teacher, with experience of schemes already carried out in Paris, will also be present.

Tickets, price 1s., are obtainable from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

### FOR PARTY

The Hampstead Garden Suburb group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation entertained a number of guests from overseas at an international party in the Friends' Meeting House, Central Square, N.W.11, last week. Among those present was Mrs. Joy Hodgkin (wife of the founder of the FoR).

During the evening Mr. Victor Barbour-James sang negro spirituals; Mrs. Forrest Groves told Somerset folk tales; and Miss Tarring contributed several unaccompanied songs from European countries.

The Rev. Leslie Artingstall (secretary of the FoR) spoke on "Pacifism the Only Way."

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